

# THE STRATEGIC USE OF CHAPLAIN LIAISON IN A POLICY PROJECTION PLATFORM TO RESOLVE CONFLICT AND PROMOTE PEACE

BY

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**THE STRATEGIC USE OF CHAPLAIN LIAISON IN A POLICY PROJECTION  
PLATFORM TO RESOLVE CONFLICT AND PROMOTE PEACE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

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This research paper contends for using chaplains as part of a Policy Projection Platform. The Policy Projection Platform does not formulate foreign policy per se. It projects forward the means by which information is observed, gathered, utilized, and formulized to design policy as needed. The proposed Policy Projection Platform consists of religious leader liaison (RLL) working together but separately at: operational and strategic unified combatant commands, as religious subject matter experts (SME) in the State Department, and as RLL in the State Partnership for Peace Program (SPPP). The policy projection platform discusses the chaplain role in each of the three strategic ways to resolve conflict and promote peace.





# THE STRATEGIC USE OF CHAPLAIN LIAISON IN A POLICY PROJECTION PLATFORM TO RESOLVE CONFLICT AND PROMOTE PEACE

*"If we could read the secret history of our enemies, we should find in each person's life sorrow and suffering enough to disarm all hostility."<sup>1</sup>*

*- Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*

## **Introduction**

When secret histories are not known, an enemy stays an enemy. A faceless enemy is the object of anger, frustration with life, and unhappiness. A different culture, faith, and language keep enemies distant, objectionable, and inhuman. Competition looms for earth's resources and benefits. The world grows smaller due to the advanced age of technology. The shrinking globe forces proximity. However, by knowing my enemy's secret history, we need not remain enemies. Knowledge of a portion of an enemy's bereavement and grief may enable tolerance. Becoming aware of my neighbor's sorrow and suffering will bring him closer on a different level. When natural or man-made disasters strike taking either life or possessions away, survivors are left to mourn their losses and muster enough strength to begin again. People struggle with one another due to secret histories reaching beyond the introduction to this paper. Peace is hard to come by and troublesome to maintain.

This brief study presents strategic and operational principles with case examples to strengthen ties with neighbors in the hope of reducing conflict or preventing the escalation of tensions. The United States military chaplaincy provides the greatest capability for an interagency and coalition government effort engaging religious leaders to achieve strategic peaceful outcomes. It argues for strengthening three programmatic endeavors to introduce and deepen informational diplomatic ties. Longfellow alludes to a secret history where religion has enormous power for potential reconciliation. This is where religious engagement and respectful religious leader liaison (RLL) make a difference. RLL enables engagement across religious divisions. By using

the chaplain corps to liaise with indigenous religious leaders across cultures, key agencies establish bridges facilitating better communication for bonds at a higher level thus enabling humanitarian service. These two elements, communication and humanitarian service laid out by President Obama in his Cairo speech (June 4, 2009), are two key pathways of RLL.

This research paper argues for using chaplains as part of a Policy Projection Platform. The Policy Projection Platform does not formulate foreign policy per se. It projects forward the means by which information is observed, gathered, utilized, and formulized to design policy as needed. The proposed Policy Projection Platform consists of RLL working together but separately. Strategic RLL could immediately advance in three different ways for peace: 1) RLL by military chaplains in operational and strategic unified combatant commands, 2) former chaplains advising (FCA) as religious subject matter experts (SME) in the State Department, and 3) State Chaplains integrated as RLL in the State Partnership for Peace Program (SPPP). This paper provides a conceptual and historical overview of the role to equip the reader with a basis for the proposal. Past research argues that chaplains are the best candidate for liaison. Historical liaison examples are reviewed, emphasizing opportunities, requirements, and challenges among other benefits. The policy projection platform discusses the chaplain role in each of the three strategic ways to pursue peace. These three proposals enable the reader to understand the chaplain corps is best suited as an advocate for peace prior to conflict.

## **CHAPLAIN ROLE**

The chaplain has a dual role as religious leader and support staff officer. “Each Chaplain also remains accountable to their assigned chain of command and the Chaplain technical staff channels up through the Chief of Chaplains. Chaplains continually balance their responsibilities in both areas and are expected to avoid placing the technical channel in conflict with the chain of

command . . . (remaining) fully accountable to the code of ethics and ecclesiastical standards of their endorsing faith group.”<sup>2</sup>

Army chaplains are supported by Army field manuals (FMs) and other doctrinal frameworks for liaison work concerning indigenous religious leaders. The authorized work of Army chaplains does not automatically translate into United States Air Force and United States Navy doctrine. However, the different branches of service collaborated to write the recent JP 1-05 that gives guidance, direction, and limitations that reach across service boundaries. “There are many types of activities that commanders conduct outside of combat operations . . . that may include:

- Liaison and coordination activities throughout the operational area and with subordinate units in support of the commander’s theatre security cooperation program. This includes participation in humanitarian and civic assistance missions.
- When directed by the commander, establishing relationships with appropriate local religious leaders in consultation with the combat command chaplain.
- Building relationships and collaborating with other government agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs).”<sup>3</sup>

During all phases of peacekeeping, the “Religious Support Teams (RSTs) are involved in many of the activities mentioned”<sup>4</sup> immediately above. Liaison occurs for chaplains of each military service branch as history signifies. For the remainder of this study, Army examples will be used since land-war battles have dominated this past decade.

From The Chaplain and Chaplain Assistant in Combat Operations (1974), “The primary mission of the unit ministry team is to provide religious support to soldiers in combat . . . the mission of the unit ministry team in combat is closely tied to the phases of the battle and the unit’s situation”.<sup>5</sup> This selected quote addresses deployment and re-deployment phases of

operations. Although this Army battle book is revised and updated, the message remains clear in the UMT's current mission, in brief:

- To nurture the living
- To care for casualties
- To honor the dead

Chaplains provide direct care for soldiers and support the unit in a wide range of conditions. Through religious support activities and staff work, chaplains engage in the lives of soldiers: physically, morally, spiritually, and socially. A chaplain's physical presence with assigned unit enables trust and confidence with unit members. Through worship, pastoral care, public speaking, teaching, advising unit leaders from the squad to combatant command; chaplains bring a message of hope in stressful and challenging situations. The chaplain reaches out to encourage, befriend, support, defend, counsel, and teach members of the unit upon request, suggestion, and as ordered. Even those who refuse are given time, perhaps at an arm's length. In the words of FM 16-5, "the unit ministry team (UMT) extends the nourishing care of religious faith throughout the unit."<sup>6</sup> In combat zones just prior to battle, chaplains raise the morale of soldiers to meet what lies ahead.<sup>7</sup> During combat operations, chaplains are "advising on appropriate chaplain liaison in support of military operations."<sup>8</sup>

Chaplains also provide indirect care for soldiers through being "the commander's staff officer, advisor, and consultant on matters pertaining to religious life, morals, and morale as affected by religion."<sup>9</sup> The chaplain advises the commander at the senior strategic level concerning matters of religion affecting the command in the area of conflict. Contact with indigenous religious leaders only occurs upon the commander's strategic plan and approval.

## **Past Research – Chaplains in the Liaison role**

In February, 2004 Chaplain (Colonel) William Sean Lee co-authored with Lieutenant Colonel Christopher J. Burke and Lt. Col. Zonna M. Crayne a study arguing that chaplains are best suited to take peace building to the next level integral to their indirect care responsibilities. The study shows that religion is a necessary ingredient to resolve conflict in lands where faith is a way of life. Rather than keep government out of religion and vice versa (as is the norm in the United States under the principle of separation of church and state), many countries integrate religion and politics. “In the Muslim world, religious leaders are often more powerful than political leaders.”<sup>10</sup> Lee et al speaks to the necessity of engaging indigenous religious leaders in communications to better know the mind of the people, the pains that continue to linger, the difficulty of survival, and what their faith currently advocates as appropriate action. Without communication, understanding and analysis; individuals and communities are misunderstood as to visible actions, current campaigns, policies, misconstrued reporting, and symbolism. These comprise examples of Longfellow’s secret history.

The report provides an ingenious table ranking various United States Army military staffing personnel at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels according to four criteria: training, skills, credentials, and accessibility. As Chaplain Lee explained each of these criteria was chosen “as they relate to the role and function of religious liaison . . . while not precise, this criterion is assessed within acceptable limits of predictability through a perceptive study of indigenous religious history and culture.”<sup>11</sup> This thorough study further reported, “Based upon the analysis of each military specialty’s doctrine and training compared against the established criteria, it is clearly apparent that the initial proponent group responsible for inclusion of

indigenous religious groups in stability operations should be military chaplains assigned to combat elements.”<sup>12</sup>

In many situations, there are cases where religion can turn nation against nation, culture against culture, and people against one another. This often occurs when Holy Scripture from each religious group is utilized out of context, wrongly, or re-written to support one’s goals. Narrow minded groups pride themselves in not acknowledging another faith as valid which leads to win-lose situations that fan the flames of war. Because one’s faith captures the heart, mind and soul of individuals deeper than power, politics, identity, family and many other elements of culture; religious tenets are used as a framework for understanding self, community, and adversaries. As summarized by Douglas Johnston of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy, “Almost anywhere one turns—Afghanistan, Kosovo, Indonesia, Nigeria, Chechnya, Kashmir, Sudan, Sri Lanka—one finds a religious dimension to hostilities. Whether it is the root cause of a conflict . . . or merely a mobilizing vehicle for nationalist and ethnic passions, as has been the case in the Balkans, religion possesses an unrivaled potential to cause instability at all levels of the global system.”<sup>13</sup>

Religion may be helpful in analyzing or preventing conflict. When the United States misses religious warning signs, potential political upheavals occur. “The United States failure in Iran was the result, at least in part, of our not understanding or responding to the religious dynamics. Greater recognition and accommodation of the religious dimension might not have altered the outcome, but had the religious factors been considered early on, the improvements in our ability to anticipate and react conceivably could have spared us untold national embarrassment (and the embassy staff in Tehran some 444 days of anguish)”.<sup>14</sup> Douglas Johnston further wrote,

It is time for the United States to get serious about developing an effective conflict-prevention capability. The specter of ethnic and religious passions

coupled with weapons of mass destruction demands no less. Far too long, our focus has been reactive, requiring enormous investments of talent and treasure to pick up the pieces after hostilities have broken out. So what can be done? Given the religious component of so many of today's hostilities, chaplains are a resource-in-being, with a long-standing religious mandate (which finesses the battle of the budget and any apprehensions about separation of church and state).<sup>15</sup>

## **Historical Chaplain Liaison**

History shows that chaplains do liaison work as an integral portion of their duties in several instances. The following are Army field examples of recorded situations in which the chaplain interacted with indigenous religious leaders to promote better understanding of the United States intention. These few recorded examples represent many unrecorded examples of chaplaincy interaction with indigenous religious leaders.

During the period of 1899 – to 1904, two chaplains, William D. McKinnon and Edward J. Vattmann received commendation from Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt for their distinguished liaison work in the Philippines. Chaplain McKinnon served as the liaison officer to Archbishop Placid Louis Chapelle (the Apostolic Delegate to the Philippines) enabling the Pope's appointed official to understand the situation between the land holding Spanish friars, the native renters and the government that favored the Spanish friars. Not only did the friars own the good farming land, but they also assumed many positions within the local government. They were the most powerful class in the Philippines. Chaplain Vattmann made a trip to the Holy See to further inform Vatican leaders of the complex situation in the Philippines concerning church and state. Both chaplains' liaison work with native priests, Spanish friars, the Vatican, and the United States government enhanced negotiations regarding the friars, their lands, the Church and State.<sup>16</sup>

Ten Jewish rabbis were appointed as Army chaplains during 1945 – to 1949 to care and act as liaisons for displaced persons following the war. These rabbis are especially remembered when they escorted displaced persons from Austria back to Germany via the train system. During these chaotic days of travel, the rabbi chaplains were interpreters and liaisons to reassure and comfort the train travelers. One unnamed rabbi chaplain is especially remembered for his unusual knack for finding chocolate bars for train traveling children, hot coffee for a shivering old man, and dashing from train car to train car to bring comfort to the crowded cars at train stops. Although history did not record how these rabbis interacted with command, it is likely their work with command happened before and after the train was enroute.<sup>17</sup>

Another instance of liaison work occurred at the close of World War II when reconstruction and renovation was the main focus for Japan. In an effort to enable the Japan residents to understand United States occupational motives following the war, United States Army Chaplains formed a minister's association mid-1946 and invited the local Japanese Christian minister to their initial meeting. This instance set a precedent for further liaison work with the local Japanese ministers. Again, history has not recorded the chaplain interaction with command.<sup>18</sup>

The American chaplains of the Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV) established liaison with the indigenous Buddhist, Roman Catholic and Protestant religious leaders to guide and support their work whenever and wherever possible. Their work in the early 1970s was to not only bring assistance to the religious leaders but to also enable understanding of the American intention of keeping South Vietnam free from the invading north. Nothing in history reveals how command made use of this liaison work of the chaplains or if command understood the good the chaplain's work incurred with the indigenous leaders.<sup>19</sup>



Chaplain David Peterson served as the United States Central Command (CENTCOM) chaplain under General H. Norman Schwarzkopf during Desert Shield/Storm. The general appreciated Chaplain Peterson meeting regularly with the Saudi Arabia Army's Religious Affairs Department as a liaison. Not only did Chaplain Peterson inform the indigenous religious leaders of UMT support to American Soldiers, but he also secured trust and won friendships among their leaders. US Command found that liaison news travels quickly and established good public relations with the native public. The General also recognized the importance of Chaplain Peterson's continued interaction with the indigenous religious leaders.<sup>20</sup>

Historical examples of chaplain liaison efforts signify four important points. For successful liaison to occur, an interfaith awareness and understanding needed to first be present with each chaplain. The chaplains conveyed to indigenous ministers and priests America's occupational intent to rebuild their land and keep it theirs. One important reason that Japan is a leader in the world today was the underlying message, America is here to work with you to rebuild your country, not take it over.<sup>21</sup> Host-nations citizens were more willing to work with the occupying force because military chaplains were respected secondly. Thirdly, chaplains were recognized as being credentialed ordained clerics so that their word was trusted and believed. Finally, liaison work came about due to a felt need by leaders. Commanders felt a capability gap existed and called upon the chaplains to bridge this gap via religion. The religious word is trusted from one faith to another as clerics have common ground that cannot be matched in any other profession or staff section.

## **RECENT WARTIME LIAISON**

Chaplains do liaison work beyond the detailed job description. Although not formally named "liaison," religious leaders advocate for peace and harmony among peoples of every race and

nation. Chaplains reach across interfaith boundaries that are denominational and cultural. In the search of peace, the use of various avenues of communication may lead to reconciliation.

Although theology is seldom utilized, religious leaders speak to religious leaders out of respect, a shared devotion to faith group, and the mutual understanding of the “golden rule.”<sup>22</sup> Indigenous religious leaders from various geographical areas and different backgrounds communicate with chaplains due to recognized credentials. Chaplains make themselves available for liaison due to a felt need of their commanders. Commonalities of faith brought about opportunities, success, requirements, challenges, key relationships, deep cultural awareness and limitations for liaison work.

### **Opportunity**

In June of 2006, Chaplain (Colonel) Micheal Hoyt returned for a second tour in Iraq as the senior chaplain for Iraq Multinational Forces (MNF-I). Working together with Canon Andrew White, Bishop of the Anglican Church – Baghdad; Chaplain Hoyt was instrumental in the complex process of putting together the first Iraq Inter-Religious Congress (IIRC). The concept of this opportunity occurred when both start discussing the possibilities of drawing religious leaders in Iraq together for a common purpose. Since Canon White served as the Bishop in Baghdad for 10 years, he was known by the Iraq Religious Leaders as well at the Iraqis. Important to Iraqi religious leaders was an American clergyman, Chaplain Hoyt, be part of the talks. Hoping that such a gathering might reduce the sectarian violence at that time, MNF-I supported the effort.<sup>23</sup> The RLL activity needed nesting in a strategic religious purpose that command approved as synchronized with the strategy of MNF-I. Leadership continuously kept abreast of plans, arrangements, needed funding, possible locations, security, etc., as the first IIRC took shape. Putting together a gathering of Iraqi religious leaders in a war torn land was difficult

due to multiple insurgents wanting to block this proposed gathering. Those, who did not want to see the Government of Iraq succeed, knew what a religious unity might do for their troubled, war-torn land.

After struggling nearly a year with security issues, funding, and getting the new government of Iraq to support the plan, the opportunity for the IIRC finally occurred in Baghdad in June of 2007. It was a two-day affair where 55 delegates of different faiths came together in unity to sign a document. This document, The Iraqi Inter-Religious Congress Accords, sought to rebuild the Iraq and promote reconciliation. The document also denounced al Qaeda, other extremist groups and terrorism. The spread of arms and unauthorized weapons was considered criminal. This document also demonstrated support for democratic principles and the constitution. The IIRC was a display of national unity. When subsequent bombs went off as the congress was concluding, the religious leaders appealed to their constituency to be calm, not to retaliate, and an effective response would be enacted together.

This opportunity of RLL work showed that religion counts. It is a very important facet of our world. Chaplain Hoyt and Canon White enabled a unified movement of the indigenous religious leaders toward peace. Although Andrew White was well known due to his tenure in Baghdad, it took the presence of a military chaplain to enable a dream, perhaps a casual thought in passing, to become a reality. As an RLL, Chaplain Hoyt was the approving presence of the United States Government when he spoke with the indigenous religious leaders as a fellow cleric. It was the religion's universal language of peace and love that gave connection to each of the different faith groups represented at the IIRC. The opportunity to accept one another with respect brought about a joint document of mutual interest. This symbol of unity affected the mindset and wills of Iraqis throughout the area. With the singleness of mind put forth in this document, sectarian

violence began to wane so that the slow road to neighborhood stability became reality. When each religious leader advocated the objectives voiced in the document, members and followers of the same faith welcomed the objectives as words of their faith group.

## **Successes**

Due in part to prior RLL work, many opportunities of success also unfolded during Chaplain Griffin's tour. The indigenous religious leaders continue to come together to advance "reconciliation and support of the rule of law across all levels as a byproduct of relationships with senior Iraqi religious leaders."<sup>24</sup> Long term relationships continue from Chaplain Griffin's RLL work. As the result, the opportunity for successful free elections enabled the drive toward nationalism and a stable Iraq. These free elections signified the successful liaison work involving indigenous religious leaders supporting this historical pivotal point of Iraq's new, recognized government. Chaplain Griffin's RLL continued to improve relationships with indigenous religious leaders, the Government of Iraq, NGOs, and the Department of State representatives. By utilizing communications at another level, the RLL enabled the NGO's to be more efficient with their limited resources to fulfill need. Here is evidence that chaplains provided a bridge-building function of communication and humanitarian service even before President Obama's 2009 vision. The religious leaders' cooperation lowered sectarian violence thus enabling the military "surge" to be successful with fewer losses than expected. Two following successful congresses (similar to the first IIRC) were held but in different locations outside Iraq due to the threats of violence to the participants.

Success builds on success as Chaplain Griffin's RLL tenure involved a luncheon held in Baghdad with no agenda. The simple meal was to thank all the indigenous religious leaders for their dedication to reconciliation continuing to unite the faith groups toward peace and stability

in Iraq. The gathering also symbolized the acknowledgement of religion's "soft" power equal to and perhaps even greater than the traditional military arsenal of weapons and manpower. The gathering recognized that the "walls" that seem to divide religious faiths were invisible when working together for a common peace.

### **REQUIREMENTS OF LIAISON - Knowledge, Skills and Abilities**

Equipped with research for religious reconciliation, Chaplain Hoyt was aware the RLL work requires specific capabilities, resources, and command support. Chaplain positions may be the key to conduct religious liaison, but education and professional acumen determine the likelihood of success. Chaplaincy liaison work requires "seasoned understanding and wise stewardship of personality and professional experience."<sup>25</sup> Chaplain Hoyt also encouraged further chaplaincy liaison requirements by stating, "Religious leaders must possess the skill, maturity, and professional commitment (including patrons) to make the engagements survive the perils of imbalance, showmanship, and circumstance. This work is not for the novice, nor the imposter".<sup>26</sup> Chaplain Hoyt encourages RLL work takes sufficient theological education, staff military exposure, and an educational "world view." "Individual capabilities of military intuition, leadership skill, adaptability, training, and anticipation must underwrite religious authenticity, knowledge, and improvisation during an engagement."<sup>27</sup> Chaplain Hoyt also added that there is too much at stake as indigenous religious leaders expect appointments kept, promises fulfilled, no prejudice shown, and tasks fulfilled as the chaplain's character represents the spiritual message. The RLL is always on display as he is scrutinized concerning what he represents. If the message or character does not match of the chaplain, the indigenous religious leaders take the chaplain to be a liar, unreliable, and "further engagements will occur against a backdrop of deceit because there is no need for honest and open exchanges. Americans can't be

trusted because their spiritual leaders (or official promises) are untrustworthy and so is their Religion.”<sup>28</sup> RLL can’t be taken lightly, as it isn’t just any position that can be filled hap-hazard or conducted in a slipshod sort of manner.

### **Leadership involvement**

Religious liaison occurs often during war or in the aftermath of war. Each has its own purpose to be utilized for unique reasons. During hostilities, it is important to make known the commander’s general intent to the indigenous religious leader without divulging tactical missions on the operational level. Senior chaplains continue to show the capacity, experience of command, and ability to earn trust from indigenous religious leaders. They are able to convey a commander’s intent as a respected cleric in a cleric to cleric dialogue. Asymmetrical war zones call for winning the hearts and minds of the indigenous populous. By helping the religious leader to understand America’s reason for temporarily occupying his native soil, the indigenous religious leader becomes an advocate to spread the good news of intended peace. This action tends to limit the insurgents strength from creating chaos. By keeping the dialogue between the chaplain and indigenous religious leaders, the religious “soft power” of the people becomes an additional strength to the military might.

Imperative to the peace process is communication with the indigenous religious leaders as the United States military forces are withdrawing. Again, the religious leaders need to know that the occupying forces will turn their country back to the religious leaders’ government. Trust is gained with information verified as time passes. Security is positive as native civilians police themselves upon the religious leader’s directive. As the forces withdraw, the commander keeps the grassroots of the country informed of timelines and latest exiting developments via the RLL ‘bridge’ to the indigenous religious leaders.

## **Challenges**

Chaplain (Colonel) LaMar Griffin, who replaced Chaplain Hoyt, confides the real challenges to liaison work are getting someone trained with: a level of understanding about staff responsibilities, time spent as a staff officer, proper education, and a good mind for the strategic aspect of any mission. Not anyone can do liaison work with indigenous religious leaders without: a well rounded world view firmly embedded in his (or her) own beliefs and open to God beyond personal definition. Knowledge of campaign plans and the planning for theatre is strongly recommended. In the field, there are not enough dedicated internal resources, security, and staff.<sup>29</sup>

## **Key Relationships**

Like Chaplains Hoyt and Griffin before him, Chaplain (Colonel) Brent Causey also found that liaison work is about building relationships. Whether gathering for business, a meal or both; relationship and trust are the key ingredients. Because Chaplain Causey was regarded as a senior religious cleric, he was given automatic respect and expectations as one of a kinder spirit. As an RLL Chaplain Causey brought the leaders together, but the real work belonged to the indigenous religious leaders. The Muslims believe that they are a peaceful people but it takes an outsider (like a military chaplain) to remind them of what might be for their people in reconciliation. Chaplain Causey learned that the people of the Middle East have long memories which explains long-standing disagreements or misunderstandings that carve deep chasms. Bereavement prevented earlier meetings of the mind. The harshness of the war, the misery of their people, and an “outside” senior cleric of the US Army provided the impetus for leaders to want reconciliation and peace. The RLL could only do as much as the commander allowed, but the results of the work were inspiring. U.S. Air Force Major General Wax, Director of Plans and Policy for the

U.S. European Command stated: “I expect my chaplains to come prepared to help me and the other military commanders understand how to work with other peoples and other nations: both those who claim a specific religion or belief structure and those who do not . . . if your strategy is to engage, you must avoid an insult due to ignorance; the chaplain must help the commander’s awareness here.”<sup>30</sup>

### **Deep Cultural Awareness**

When risks threaten, chaplains serve as RLL to indigenous religious leaders. RLL need to be equipped with responsible, reliable interpreters and cultural advisors. Having served as RLL in the Balkans previously, Chaplain Causey knew the value of having a cultural advisor/translator. He ‘hand-picked’ a man who had lived in Iraq for 20 years and now is a United States citizen. A man of the culture is indispensable as the Islam faith is unique to each particular geographic area which gives it identity. Different tenets of the Islam faith were emphasized throughout the many ‘pockets’ scattered throughout the land giving the appearance of a completely different faith because of historical evolution. The cultural interpreter needs to be knowledgeable of these faith pockets throughout the geographical area. Admiral Charles Abbot, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. European Command, notes in an address at the 1999 U.S. European Command Military Chiefs of Chaplains Conference: “The role of chaplains at the strategic level of military planning is the greatest area of growth in (terms of their total) responsibilities. The way the world has evolved, it has become crucial to better understand the religious and cultural histories of peoples involved in conflict.”<sup>31</sup> Chaplain Causey found Iraqis were more faithful to ancestry and religious heritage than to the country in which they lived. Most natives do not admit to being an Iraqi which says that a person’s faith runs deeper than nationalistic pride.<sup>32</sup>



## **Limitations**

Another limitation is the turnover in RLL chaplains. Each serves a tour of duty encouraging trust, reliance, and continuity. Although the RLL message continues to be the same of reconciliation and non-violence, new RLL chaplains assume the position from the prior chaplain which may encounter some struggles until rapport is established. The longer that the incoming RLL can shadow the outgoing RLL, greater are the chances that the inbound chaplain will be accepted by the indigenous leaders. Chaplain Griffin stated that ten days were enough; time is always of a premium and longer periods are not feasible. Because each RLL chaplain is unique, priorities may be managed differently or even set back due to a learning curve. With indigenous religious leaders, delay may suspend completion time or stop the process. Regardless of how time is viewed by the culture, time is of the essence.

Although the language did not seem to be a show stopper due to available interpreters, Chaplain Griffin cited that some foreign language skills would be helpful. “If not the language of the assigned country, then knowledge of French, Latin, or even German would be great background.”<sup>33</sup> Important for the RLL is a trusting relationship with his interpreter. When the language is not known, the chaplain is completely at the mercy of his interpreter. As Chaplain Causey points out, cultural understanding is critical so that the RLL understands every nuance. The RLL does not want to offend, but wants to be observant of culture and tradition. A trusting relationship with the cultural advisor/interpreter is crucial for this work.

## **Operational Liaison**

Currently in Iraq, RLL is ongoing with meetings weekly under the direction of United States Forces-Iraq (USF-I) Command Chaplain (Colonel) R. Michael Coffey. Two or three days before each meeting, a number of preparations will adequately communicate the commander’s

perspective with the indigenous religious leaders. The meetings provide “atmospherics”<sup>34</sup> to better provide command with input from the religious leaders. This shows how the United States strategic policy is being viewed by the indigenous population. These are not intelligence work in any shape or form. Atmospherics allows the command to look at the lowest level to see how command’s policy is affecting the population. Are the people safer? Is the economy getting the chance to improve? Can the government function and are the people noticing? How is the quality of life in the current phase of rebuilding? Have NGO’s been able to supply and equip the people toward recovery? In the words of Chaplain Coffey, the work of the RLL helped the “Commander ‘turn the prism’ so he views the daily military operations and strategic issues from a different angle or hears them from a less military distinctive voice. As a result of these meetings, the commanders better understand local, national and strategic issues that may start with something as simple as school supply needs.”<sup>35</sup> Chaplain Coffey continued by stating, “From my perspective, the religious leader liaisons would serve as a prism for policy makers, State Department officials, and United Nations peacemakers just as it does now for my command.”<sup>36</sup>

Chaplains Hoyt, Griffin, Garrison, Causey, and Coffey proved that RLL has been working in Iraq for several years. As respected military sacred leaders, MNF-I chaplains were recognized and accepted as equal clerics concerned about like issues revolving around peace. By knowing the commander’s need, the chaplain serves as the bridge to convey what the commander hopes to achieve without gathering intelligence or talking tactics. RLL chaplains do not allow themselves into compromising positions. Each meeting’s substance is relayed to the commander without intelligence. Proselytizing is not done. Goodness is seen in all faiths. The intent of liaison work is always strategic, “transforming hearts of grassroots and civilian leaders.”<sup>37</sup> Rooted in mutual

concerns about spiritual welfare, relationships are “created through conversations that reach beyond (conflict) positions and arguments to shared experiences of the loss of loved ones, property, homes, businesses, and careers.”<sup>38</sup> Friends made between RLLs and indigenous religious leaders in the past and are kept to this day. As Chaplain Hoyt insists, RLL is both personality and training dependent to succeed at “harvesting the good.”<sup>39</sup>

### **Strategic Need: Missing Ingredient?**

Douglas Johnson, of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy, in his article “Religion and Foreign Policy” stated that the United States diplomats have been products of the nation-state model of international relationships totally ignoring the dynamics of religion. He stated that the wrong interpretation of religious freedom places religion outside the realm of critical analysis.<sup>40</sup> “It is time for the United States to get serious about developing an effective conflict-prevention capability . . . for far too long, our focus has been reactive, requiring enormous investments of talent and treasure to pick up the pieces after the hostilities have broken out.”<sup>41</sup> Needed is the means to help avoid conflict. Religion serves as the indicator enabling the United States to better understand what is happening at the grass roots level and possibly initiates mediation to bring about resolution. Religion is devotion to high ideals, beliefs, attitudes, and practices that most every country in the world regards as extremely important. Whether it is personal, national, or both; an important basic tenet of religion fosters peace and wellness among people. Religion gains credit with encouraging morality within individuals and promoting equality. Respect is held for the clerics of various faiths as each represents an educated position that leads many followers. The soft power of religion transcends boundaries to make connection to individuals that regard religion as important! As mentioned earlier, politics and religion are

intermixed in many of the world's countries. Religion has been the missing element in America's statecraft.<sup>42</sup>

The Council on Foreign Relations released a special report number 48; dated October 29, 2009 entitled "Enhancing U.S. Preventative Action". Authors, Paul B. Stares and Micah Zenko, state conflict, instability, and humanitarian disaster are better prevented than dealing with the problems after they arise. It is all about resources and stabilization. "Preventative measures are generally less expensive than remedial ones . . . measures that could obviate further military commitments, save money, and resolve tensions that might consume more time and resources later are a sound investment."<sup>43</sup> In this report, the authors "assess in detail United States practices with regard to different types of preventive action, examining such topics as intelligence community analysis; 'watch lists' of states at risk; interagency planning processes; foreign assistance programming; and the work of the State Department office created in 2004 to lead the United States government efforts in this area."<sup>44</sup> The report suggests several steps to strengthen preventative measures, but nothing is cited concerning religion throughout the report. In a world where religion is part of daily life and there is no distinction between church and state in the majority, it is odd that Stares & Zenko do not give any credence to the contribution that religion either gives to conflict or peacemaking. Could it be "that the rigorous separation of church and state in the United States has desensitized many citizens to the fact that much of the world does not operate on a similar basis?"<sup>45</sup> Because United States citizens reserve religion to their private lives, the population of the United States does not give the sacred much thought during the business work week. Could it be that religion was purposely ignored as the authors knew the State Department would not give any consideration to religion as an important factor? Could this also be of the old adage that if it is not considered or brought up, it will go away?

Finally, could this be just another arrogant ploy of the United States' mindset to cajole the rest of the world to be more "like United States"?

When religion fails to enter into government dealings with foreign governments and embassies, the United States is seen as godless by foreign governments intertwined with religion. "The success of American diplomacy in the next decade will not simply be measured by government-to-government contacts, but also by its ability to connect with the hundreds of millions of people throughout the world whose identity is defined by religion. This means that the United States government will need to move beyond traditional state-to-state relations to develop effective policies for engaging religious communities."<sup>46</sup> "As America looks ahead, it is clear that religious actors will not only continue to present major challenges to our security, but also provide enormous opportunities to create new alliances and forge new paths to peace and prosperity in many troubled areas of the world."<sup>47</sup> The world is now at the juncture where the United States can no longer ignore religion when configuring foreign policy.

### **AT THE ROOT OF CONFLICT**

As Chaplain Causey learned, the middle easterners have long memories. They fail to 'live and let live.' "All conflicts—whether personal, communal, or national—are fueled by memories of past wrongs. As fuel for conflict, any memory will do—accurate memory, completely fabricated memory, or as is mostly the case, distorted memory. Reconciliation will not happen, and any progress made toward reconciliation will be subverted, unless memories are healed."<sup>48</sup> A broken agreement, land promised but sold to another, marrying outside an arrangement, etc. cause deep seated anger, disappointment, and extreme sadness to mention but a few. Memories of disappointments, heartache, and loss prevent quick reconciliation usually adding fuel to the fire of conflict.

Grief and bereavement occur not only when a loved one dies, but also occurs when there has been a loss whether that loss is a goal, a dream, a position, an occupation, land or house, etc. The rule of thumb for bereavement and grief is: if you dare to love, you will grieve. This human trait is further compounded by abnormal grief syndrome that occurs when bereavement is not allowed to heal but is thought to be held in check but never is. Often it is manifested with: changes in relationships, social isolation, extreme anger, hostility, over activity without a sense of loss, illness, and wooden or formal conduct toward others masking extreme hostility. Unattended grief and bereavement keeps the fire burning within individuals. The author of this paper firmly believes that grief and abnormal bereavement is generally the root of conflict. Individuals are continually experiencing grief everyday of their lives to some degree. As anyone ages, more and more physical and some mental abilities begin to wane. In other words, individuals are always at some loss as the years pass. Most do not acknowledge any feelings of sorrow, grief, and hurt due to the human denial syndrome. Until healing occurs of deep seated bereavement and grief, reconciliation does not happen. Enabling individuals to grieve their secret history and begin to reconcile, the disarming will begin and individuals begin to live in peace. Religious liaison only begins to tap the tip of the secret history, but it is a start!

### **Strategic Religious Leader Liaison**

Suppose that religious liaison occurs during peacetime. Since a good portion of the world is not secular but has politics and religion mixed, there will be some advantage in understanding other nations not only on the political arena but also at the grass roots. It be helpful to understand how people exist and possibly stop an uprising either as a civil or national war all in the name of peace and brotherhood. Would our leaders and commanders make better judgments

and decisions if more information were known? Could it be possible to better utilize “soft power” as opposed to military might?

The Army has 15 designated installations and the Marines have two stateside where military forces are projected to anywhere in the world in “response to crisis, contribute to deterrence, and to enhance regional stability.”<sup>49</sup> These installations (power projection platforms) will “be prioritized and resources to perform power projection functions together with designated strategic sea and aerial ports in support of national strategy.”<sup>50</sup> It is from these points that America’s military can be anywhere in the world in minimal time complete with military personnel, equipment, supply, and a built-in means to replenish. Timing and speed are critical. America shocks the world with this efficiency intended to shorten hostilities, limit resources, and preserve life.

Suppose that in lieu of the force projection (hard power) being put forward that “soft power” is utilized instead. Douglas Johnson of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy suggests that a configured Religious Attaché might keep our forces at home. Chaplain Herman Keizer puts his thoughts forward concerning not deploying force with an idea for the State Department of the United States. Perhaps as a conflict is in the process of materializing (or before), diplomats, military chaplains, and assigned ambassadors be a part of the Policy Projection Platform to do mediation, conflict resolution, and find a win-win solution. While the ambassador & diplomats confer with politicians of the troubled state(s), the military chaplain would connect with the indigenous religious leaders to better understand the conflict from the grass roots. This action occurs prior to the actual skirmish in the attempt to keep the Force at “home” residing at the power projection platform or on alert.

## **EXCELLENT IDEAS**

Douglas M. Johnston of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy realizes the importance of religion when it is present in one or both parties' way of life, third-party mediating, and in conflict as a factor. In one of his articles, Dr. Johnson spoke of a "The Case for a "Religious Attaché."<sup>51</sup> A new position of religious attaché is to be located in countries "where religion would have a particular salience. Included in their portfolio of responsibilities would be the tasks of developing relationships of trust with local religious leaders and groups, reporting on relevant religious movements and developments, and helping the mission to deal more effectively with complex religious issues".<sup>52</sup> This proposed Religious Attaché spends more time with people of the local culture and also "works closely with the political and cultural officers in the sharing of pertinent information and contacts".<sup>53</sup> He also proposes that the religious attaché "would relieve already overburdened embassy staffs, help improve America's image with important religious groups and leaders, and provide insights into their motives and objectives."<sup>54</sup> Dr. Johnson comes up with an estimated cost and possible distribution of thirty religious attaché corps in these areas: Central & Eastern Europe, The Balkans, the Arab World & Turkey, Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, Latin America, Central Asia, Russia, China, & Southeast Asia. Over time, the importance of religion becomes obvious and gives the United State a greater advantage on a preventative basis. No longer would the United States be reactionary at a great cost of resources but becomes more proactive to preventing conflict.

After serving in several assignments as the European Unified Command Chaplain, Army Chaplain(Colonel-Retired) Herman Keizer served as the second Chaplain assigned to the State Department following the first brief 3 month tour of a Navy Chaplain. The assigned slot was, 'Special Advisor to the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom within the



Bureau of Human Rights, Democracy, and Labor.’ As he mentioned, the assignment was “new” but down deep in the organization. “In another sense,” Chaplain Keizer confessed, “it wasn’t deep because being a chaplain, doors opened!”<sup>55</sup> While he was there, Chaplain Keizer found more than enough to do. One such project that he remembers is a reconciliation project that involved three separate countries. One dealt with returning native Lebanon people back to their ancestral territory “so, they could be functioning in a reconciled manner because at one time Lebanon was a very integrated society”.<sup>56</sup> A second project was located in Pakistan pertaining to a Madrassa (religious school). “How could we modify what was going on (within the school system) to help them be more peaceful in their thinking?” Keizer reflected.<sup>57</sup> The third project dealt with bringing the religious leaders together in Sudan. Once together, the problem was found not to be religious but ethnic. The problem was an ‘Arab - African black situation’ that had been passed off by government observers as a Muslim - Christian situation. “Most of the blacks were not Christians but Animism with a little Roman Catholic thrown in,” Keizer sorted out.<sup>58</sup> The money for all three projects was entrusted to Army Chaplain Keizer. This liaison success shown with minimal investment should have ‘locked in’ an Army chaplain as an RLL within the State Department.

“My vision at that time,” Chaplain Keizer prophesied, “would be to put a military chaplain in every major part of the State Department. There would be one in each one of the Bureaus. Imagine having one in the African Bureau, one in the Asian Bureau, etc. There would be one in each one of those sections to really begin to monitor and build relationships with the religious community . . . military chaplains would talk to the religious leadership in the area . . . what kind of religious issues do they see emerging? . . . Insight would then be available to the State Department officials”.<sup>59</sup> Clearly from his experience, Chaplain Herman Keizer visualizes

military chaplains able to better understand the social temperature of a country at the grass roots. Key to such positions would be the relationships that need to be made with the indigenous religious leaders found within the Bureau territories. As many of our ambassadors would attest, the most effective liaison comes through relationships built on mutual trust of time, rapport, and dedication one to another are important elements. His thought for continued RLL work at the State Department would be along the lines of “capacity building”, “reconstruction kinds of stuff,” and “nation reconciliation issues as opposed to the war-fighting rubric”.<sup>60</sup>

## **POLICY PROJECTION PLATFORM**

As a conflict is in the process of materializing (or before); diplomats, military chaplains, and assigned ambassadors are a part of the Policy Projection Platform to do mediation, conflict resolution, and find a win-win solution. While the ambassador & diplomats confer with politicians of the troubled state(s), the military chaplain would connect with the indigenous religious leaders to better understand the conflict from the grass roots. This action occurs prior to the actual skirmish in the attempt to keep the Force at “home” residing at the power projection platform or on alert.

## **SME at Unified Combatant Command**

Similar to Johnston’s idea for a religious attaché is the first leg of the Power Projection Platform. The first leg to the combatant commander (CCDR) in each of the unified combatant commands (UCC) is a chaplain colonel that advises as the subject matter expert (SME) of religion within the Area of Responsibility (AOR). This SME communicates with each of the embassies within his AOR. Either through the embassy or in direct communication, the SME connects with indigenous leaders of faith within his AOR. The frequency of communication would vary, but often enough to maintain relationships. Troubled areas or potential “hot spots”

obtain more attention. In each AOR where there are numerous countries and faiths, the chaplain colonel may have a staff large enough to give adequate coverage. This coverage allows the CCDR to see how religion in the AOR impacts the implementation of United States foreign policy at the national level and vice versa. These SMEs work at an operational level in conjunction with the joint command at the assigned AOR. The Chaplain Colonel's (SME) deployment to an AOR need not be lengthy as a 'left-seat, right-seat' assumption for position continuity (with the embassy ambassador and the indigenous leaders) is in place. Different from Dr. Johnston's religious attaché, the extra cost would be non-existent as military chaplains would be utilized.

### **SME at the State Department**

Working in a 'mirrored image' to the SMEs in the field, former chaplains (retired O-6 and above) work as a Federal employee in each of the State Department bureaus monitoring foreign countries similar to Keizer's idea. This second leg of the Policy Projection Platform utilizes former chaplain advisors (FCA). These FCAs strategically advise what the role of religion is for United States Policy development. By using FCAs, the pool of active duty chaplains is not diminished. The State Department benefits from the former chaplain's training and experience. By restricting these "new" positions to former chaplains, the FCA is familiar with the government observance separating church & state. Yet, the former chaplain advises concerning the strong role of religion found in foreign governments considered for foreign policy. Each FCA works not only with the State Department, but also keeps abreast with communication between the SME's in the field and the bureau embassy. Current religious information enables the United States to have a full consideration of all the particulars of the foreign situation without

formulating policy only on the secular political level. Rather than operating with tunnel vision, the religious background gives the United States policy makers a full, 360 degree global view.

The United States military trains, educates, and gives plenty of experience to its chaplains only after each chaplain: earns a masters degree; served a parish, institution or specialized experience; and was approved for the military by an ecclesiastical endorser. Each chaplain is assigned to various components to do ministry at various tactical, operational, and strategic levels during a career. In other words, the military invests a considerable amount of capital in each member of its chaplain corps giving a substantial inventory. In most cases, the end point to a chaplain's career is the mandatory retirement date (MRD). The MRD takes many healthy, knowledgeable chaplains out of the corps. Due to physical training requirements throughout military service time, most chaplains are quite healthy upon reaching their respective MRD. Statistics indicate that over 90% Chaplain O-5s and O-6s are forced into military retirement due to MRD. As of this writing, the chaplain corps is: 60 - 70% Army Reserve, 70% National Guard and 95% Active Duty of full manning.<sup>61</sup> Raising the MRD for chaplains is beyond the scope of this paper. However, Social Security is currently encouraging every individual to work until age 66. Hiring FCAs retain knowledge and expertise for advisory positions within the State Department. Each FCA works strategically with the embassies, SME's 'in the field', and the bureau the FCA is assigned. These FCAs not only bring a wealth of military experience and knowledge, but they would also be SMEs in the field of religion. These FCAs would contribute productively to dialogue on the national and international levels. Because each worked several years in the military and adhered to a code of ethics, these FCAs would not proselytize and not threaten current positions in the State Department. Their ethics would not be questioned as each is still responsible to his endorser.

Chaplains would fill liaison positions operationally from each UCC and strategically for the AOR from each bureau of the State Department. Together, the active duty chaplain ‘in the field’ at the UCC and the former chaplains at the State Department would add the needed component of religious knowledge to formulating policy. Each of these positions is an advisory capacity where religion impacts foreign doctrine. The work done in liaison gains more credibility concerning religion and policy than what is currently done secularly. Relationships between chaplains and indigenous religious leaders bring about trust in time. With trust come avenues of reconciliation that might prevent conflict or bring about truce.

### **SME at State Partnership for Peace Program**

The third leg of the Policy Projection Platform is found with the National Guard State Chaplains and the State Partnership for Peace Program (SPPP). In 1993, an initiative between the White House, the State Department, and the Department of Defense brought about a program that followed many of the principals of the Marshall Plan.<sup>62</sup> When the Berlin Wall fell and the Warsaw pact dissolved, the United States wanted to be sensitive to a weakening Russia. It was decided to utilize the National Guard in a partnership program as opposed to the active duty military. This plan was an effort to not replace the Iron Curtain with a veil of indifference. Each participating state’s Citizen-Soldier force engages with a foreign nation based on some commonality between both. For example, Montana was paired by the National Guard Bureau with Kyrgyzstan because of what is shared: high mountains, agriculture, mining (including the ecological effects), hydro-electricity, being land-locked with a porous border, floods, earthquakes, Native American similarities, etc. The commonalities helped to break some of the social and cultural barriers to ensure a relationship. Currently, there are 49 states, 3 territories, and the District of Columbia that have established bonds with 63 countries around the world in

EUCOM, AFRICOM, CENTCOM, PACOM, AND SOUTHCOM areas.<sup>63</sup> All partnership program activities are coordinated with the Geographic Combatant Commander's objectives in conjunction with the United States Ambassador's country teams to meet the desires of the United States and host country.

Each State Chaplain bears the responsibility of becoming familiar with its SPPP country and the indigenous religious leaders of that country. Although education is needed and required for the State Chaplain to do liaison work, the importance of establishing a relationship leading to trust is essential! Each State Chaplain serves in the capacity of establishing a bridge between both countries via religion. This is extremely important in areas before internal strife or external conflict occurs. The connection of one country to the other strategically will enhance relations, build trust, and support one for the other through the bridge of religion! The length of service that each chaplain serves as State Chaplain only improves trust with the indigenous religious leader as the years go by. State Chaplains normally serve longer terms in office than active duty which only encourages the SPPP, relationships, and informative exchanges. From Colonel Mike McCarthy's research, "The Limits of Friendship," he concluded that "Relationships are built on mutual respect, cooperation takes a long time to achieve results, and individual events have little lasting value. Only when events are linked together in time and space do they contribute to achieving objectives. Many events are still better than 'military tourism.'"<sup>64</sup> Lasting committed partnerships will build relationships of trust, friendship, and cooperation.

The SPPP holds great possibilities to establish mutual understanding, promotes support, appreciates heritage, and strengthens diplomatic relations between countries. In most scenarios, strife and discontent are known before conflict becomes severe. The State Chaplain communicates with the SME at the combatant command AOR and both would be in touch with

the FCA at the State Department. This 3-legged liaison approach would enable information to readily be available for diplomatic reconciliation work prior to war. This Policy Projection Platform is a humanitarian plan that would reap many benefits in the eyes of the world plus keep American power projection platforms from being utilized. The overall cost savings is beyond the scope of this paper. On the other hand, the current cost of war is also beyond the calculation of dollars and cents when human lives are lost.

## **Conclusion**

The old saying that there really is not anything new under the sun has meaning. There are a multitude of good minds that only need to see something old in a new light. As long as ministers have been ministers, each goes where needed to interface, go-between, and reconcile. The secret history that longs to be told is each person's sorrow and suffering of life. Avenues of forgiveness and reconciliation span every faith group. Religious persons can speak to secret histories building bridges of reconciliation that span insurmountable chasms of pain.

The Policy Projection Platform consists of senior chaplains (O-6) that operate strategically at each of the three legs for peace. The first leg consists of chaplains (SMEs) located under the CCDR at each of the UCC. Communication would not only occur with each of the embassies within the Area of Responsibility but primarily with religious indigenous leaders in the AOR. The second leg of the stool finds former chaplain colonels (FCAs) in each of the State Department bureaus advising strategically the role of religion in policy development. FCAs would be working in a mirrored image to the SMEs in the field. Finally, the third leg bears the responsibility of the each State Chaplain in the State Partnership for Peace Program (SPPP). Each State Chaplain has the obligation to familiarize and acquaint himself with the indigenous religious leaders of the partner country. The key to each of these legs of the stool is

communication, communication, communication! Religious subject matter expert chaplains at each leg of the Policy Projection Platform would offer information to directly aid the United States government in formulating, implementing, or defining foreign policy throughout the world. Not only would the United States be demonstrating a religious policy tone to other countries, but also the United States would stave off conflict to help bring about reconciliation.

Religion continues to keep differences at bay when complete opposites can speak heart to heart through facilitating avenues of faith. Liaison work is successful when religion was the facilitating language in the past and is currently being done in the present. With the threat of nuclear war devices and asymmetrical warfare, peace needs to be conveyed through the soft power of faith. As depicted in the ground breaking study of Lee, Burke and Crayne; military chaplains are ideal to use as liaisons with indigenous religious leaders. This study proposes the possibility of utilizing active and former military chaplain colonels to work alongside ambassadors and state department personnel as facets of the Policy Projection Platform. This plan facilitates diplomatic relations in an ongoing manner via faith acknowledgement and use. The cost of this proposal does not begin to compare with our present secular diplomatic work that utilizes the military's power projection platform. As Chris Seiple of the Center on Faith and International Affairs stated, "Most of the world's ethics are rooted in religion. Indeed, 80 percent of the world believes in something greater than themselves. Religion is relevant to them because it provides a narrative framework for understanding the basics of the human condition, especially life and death."<sup>65</sup> Religion to religion, cleric to cleric are words of love, grace, peace, and reconciliation.



What is needed now is a more comprehensive integration-intellectually and institutionally-of religious freedom into the mainstream of U.S. foreign policy. This would not require new legislation so much as strategic vision and political will. Promotion of religious freedom should not be treated as special-interest humanitarian issue but rather should be integrated into U.S. democracy promotion, education of diplomatic and military personnel, counterterrorism and counterinsurgency strategy, public diplomacy, international law, and more.<sup>66</sup>

The Policy Projection Platform is such ‘a United States democracy promotion’ fulfilling the areas named immediately above that will avert conflict in the hope of peace projected forward. As described in this brief study, the Policy Projection Platform also offers the means at each of the legs to begin understanding secret histories to defuse the root causes for conflict to maintain or attempt peace. An enemy does not need to remain an enemy.

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